97-84219-28

Ford, James W.

Negro's struggle against imperialism

New York

1930

97-84219-28
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD

308
Z
Box 843

Ford, James W 1893-
Negro's struggle against imperialism. New York, Provisional international trade union committee of Negro workers, 1930.
32 p.

"A report to the 2nd World congress of the League against imperialism at Frankfort, Germany, in July, 1929."

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: *Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.*

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35 mm REDUCTION RATIO: 9:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 10-13-97 INITIALS: PB

TRACKING # : 28970

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

Negro's Struggle Against Imperialism

By JAMES W. FORD

Price 10 Cents

PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION
COMMITTEE OF NEGRO WORKERS
New York, U. S. A., 1930
21

57505D

A report to the 2nd World Congress of the League Against Imperialism at Frankfort, Germany, in July, 1929.

Eugene Bechtold
Chicago, Ill.

57505D APR 23 1954

1. General Statement

The so-called Negro "problem" has seldom been stated from the class point of view. We are in the period of the decline and decay of capitalism. Capitalism and imperialism are undergoing rapid change because of this decline. Everywhere the standards of living of the workers and peasants are being pushed down. Millions of workers throughout the world are thrown out of employment by the capitalist system. In the shops and factories and on the farms, workers and poor farmers are being forced to work at an increased speed. This is done in order that the capitalist may make greater profits at the expense of the workers.

This period of the decline of capitalism is of great significance to the working class and oppressed people, and is of very great importance to the Negro people in the various parts of the world. The future history of the Negro in his struggle for liberation, for political, social and economic advancement, depends upon how we estimate the present period of imperialism, the concrete organizational tasks that we lay down in order to bring about this liberation. We must mobilize our forces for joint struggle with the world proletariat in the international struggle against imperialism. We have already seen the great struggles of the Chinese workers and peasants. We see rising waves of revolt and struggle in India and in China. We are witnessing great waves of revolt of the working class in the homelands of imperialism.

IMPERIALISM AND THE NEGRO

For our purpose, in dealing with the special question of the Negro, imperialism is the stage of capitalism when the whole world has been divided among a few great capitalist powers, and especially when the territory of Africa has been completely divided

between them; and when there has developed among the Negroes of America sharp class lines, and a Negro bourgeoisie, which helps the big white bourgeoisie in the exploitation of the Negro toiling masses.

THE WORLD WAR AWAKENS NEGROES

During the imperialist war of 1914-18 hundreds of thousands of Negroes from all parts of the world were brought into direct contact with the customs and culture of the so-called white western civilization. Millions of Negroes were brought from the agricultural and peasant regions of the Southern part of the USA into the industries of the North. This developed a huge Negro industrial proletariat. At the same time capitalism has carried industrial development into Africa, and there produced—especially in South Africa—a big native proletariat.

Already the period since the world war has brought about class-consciousness, revolt and resistance of Negro toilers against imperialism. But in order to understand the present period of the Negro's struggle, it is necessary for us to review briefly the older periods of the exploitation and oppression of Negroes by the capitalists.

POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

The economic and political enslavement of the Negro peoples has extended over a period of 300 years, and may be divided into three stages.

1. The Classical Period—the period of merchant capitalism, which was the period of snatching of slaves from Africa, marked the birth of the notorious African slave trade. This was the time when the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British capitalists were at the high tide of their business of stealing slaves from Africa. It has been said that over 100,000,000 Negroes were torn from Africa during the course of these 300

years. Great fortunes were made on the slave traffic.

Profits ranged from 100 per cent to 150 per cent on the sale of slaves. The average price of slaves were: in 1840, $325; in 1850, $360; in 1860, $500. It was on the basis of slave traffic profits, including the rape of India, that England was able to lay the basis of the British Empire. Also, great fortunes were made by the slave dealers in America. Thus it is clearly seen that capitalist exploitation for profits was the basis for the beginning of the enslavement of the Negro people.

2. The Second Period—the period of industrial capitalism—was the beginning of the territorial division of Africa, and the exploitation of its natural resources, and the labor power of the natives in Africa. Because the slave traffic became less profitable for the capitalists this period marked the beginning of the doing away with the "legal" slave traffic. It was during this period that the natural resources of Africa helped to build up the great manufacturing enterprises in England. In America the doing away with the slave traffic was replaced by the intense plantation exploitation of the Negro slaves. The profits made on the plantation exploitation of the Negro slave laid the basis for the present wealth of American imperialism. Thus the stopping of the slave traffic did not stop the profit making of the capitalists. It merely increased their profit making.

3. The Third Stage—and this is the period that we are most concerned with—is the period of imperialism. This period marks the completion of the division of Africa by the main capitalist powers, and marks the complete enslavement of its people. This period also is the period when the main capitalist powers are organizing to fight each other for the redivision of Africa. It is a period also when the workers are being speeded up and exploited at a greater rate by the capitalists in order to make more profits. Hun-

dreds of thousands and millions of Negro toilers are being thrown out of work. But at the same time the Negro toilers everywhere are struggling against this extreme exploitation and oppression. Wide spread revolt is spreading amongst the Negro toilers in different parts of the world. . This period also marks the development of Negro capitalists, who hand in hand with the big white capitalists, are helping in the extreme exploitation of the Negro toilers.

THE MODERN POLICY OF IMPERIALISM

What is the policy of imperialism towards Negroes? Imperialism is holding the African colonies as "country sides" for agricultural development. All the imperialists are hindering the industrial development of the country to this end. They are therefore carrying on a policy which perpetually hinders the advancement of the toiling masses. They actually exterminate the people by the thousands, killing the populations and destroying whole towns.

Africa is a leading source of raw materials, a market center for extra capital investment. The markets and raw materials are becoming short. This is the main reason for the jealousy and rivalry between the various capitalist countries and is leading them to war.

The Native Workers of South Africa

The great majority of the South African population is Negro. There are about five and one-half millions of native Negroes and colored, and about one and one-half millions of whites. The Negroes are the majority of the working class. There are 467,013 or about 70 per cent Negro and colored workers, and about 176,-073 or 23 per cent white workers. In mining there are over 300,000 Negroes to about 40,000 whites. In transportation there are 40,000 Negroes and 66,000 whites; in the general production industries there are 120,000 Negroes and 71,000 whites.

In the Belgian Congo in 1919 in the gold, copper and diamond mines there were 31,000 native workers; in 1926 there were 61,000; in the Union Mines of Katagu there were 16,448 native workers.

Agricultural Workers

In South Africa the native and colored population may be divided as follows:

(1) Natives on their own tribal lands (reserves) 51%
(2) Natives on European-owned lands 34%
(3) Native workers in mines and cities 14%

The agricultural output has gradually increased in South Africa. The export in 1910 was 9,500,000 pounds; in 1927 it was 22,000,000 pounds. The number of dairy factories increased from 59 to 124 during the period of 1915-25.

In Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the whole West Coast of Africa there are vast agricultural developments. The same is true of the Belgian Congo.

In South Africa the native reserves form only one-eighth of the total land of the Union, and natives are not allowed to buy land outside of the reserves. Certain lands that were to be turned back to the natives are being given the white settlers, for example, large sections suitable for cotton growing in Northern Transvaal. The existing reserves are totally insufficient for the natives. A large number of natives are compelled for this reason and also because of taxation and the pressure of the native chiefs (who act as agents for the government) to go out and work in the white lands. One-third of the native adult male population is all the time away at work in the towns or on the farms.

Negroes in the United States

In America there are nearly twelve millions of Negroes. Two-thirds of these are agricultural workers and peasants living in the south. During and since the

world war there was a great migration of Negroes from the farms to cities and industries of the north and south. A huge industrial proletariat was created.

About one-half of these peasants and farm workers live in the so-called "black belt" where they compose more than one-half of the total population.

The great mass of Negroes are subjected to the most ruthless form of exploitation and persecution. The American capitalists use peonage, share-croppage, the abuses of landlordism in the super-exploitation of the Negroes. In order to perpetuate this super-exploitation they have constantly and consciously developed a system of political inequality, lynching, segregation and jim-crowism.

As the Negroes revolt against these abuses, especially after the world war, and as resistance of the Negro workers and peasants continued to grow and develop, the bosses resorted to the development of a Negro capitalist group. This group is to help and to assist the big white capitalists. Their aim is to hinder the revolt and resistance of the Negro workers and farmers.

West Indian Negroes

The West Indies are typically an agricultural country. It is a big market for the export of goods. The whole of the West Indian Islands are under the iron hand of the imperialists. Haiti is under the iron heel of the American marines of the National City Bank of Wall Street. The independence of Haiti gained during the Haitian revolution when French domination was overthrown has been completely nullified by the U. S. marines. The people have been garrotted, and are being ruled in addition by a fake illegal president, a tool of the American imperialists. At present, because of the revolt and the pressure of the Haitian toilers he has been replaced by a white president, another agent of Wall Street. The country, in spite of its natural richness, is in poverty, the like of which

has not been seen since the days before the Haitian revolution.

In Trinidad the natives are ruled by the iron hand of British imperialism. The workers are suppressed by the troops of the British Empire statioied here.

In Guadeloupe the same thing is true. Here French imperialism keeps the workers and peasants down to the level of slaves.

II.—FORCED LABOR AND THE NEGROES

Frenh Africa

Special attention must be given to the question of forced labor. We have from the pen of a French journalist traveling in Africa, the picture of what forced labor means to the natives in Equatorial Africa. He tells of how the natives in building the Ocean-Congo Railway, work with only pick and shovel. They have none of the modern mechanical devices such as steam shovels. But they have to do all the hardest work with small picks and shovels. He tells of how they must carry a great deal of the material on their heads long distances; how they must work over twelve hours per day, half starved and half naked, without shelter or other protection from the change of weather prevalent in these sections of Africa. He tells how they are transported great distances from other sections of Africa, practically forced to travel the distance on foot and how they die like flies on the way. For every mile of railroad laid down under these forced conditions hundreds of deaths have occurred. Already over 17,000 Negroes have perished in the laying of this railroad. In forty years that France has ruled the Congo the population has decreased 75 per cent, principally from the effects of forced labor.

Mozambique Treaty (South and East Africa)

The Mozambique Treaty allows the Rand mine owners of South Africa to recruit native labor in Port-

uguese East Africa. It is an agreement between the South African Government and the Portuguese Government. Seventy-five thousand natives are rented out for periods of eighteen months. The Portuguese Government receives a certain rate and certain other privileges in the ports of upper South Africa.

Many natives die in making the long trips because of the difference in climate between South Africa and East Africa, and because of the bad transportation conditions and protection on the way. Half of the native's pay is held up by the South African Government at the demand of the Portuguese Government, during the period of the eighteen months. Portuguese Negroes indentured in this way find themselves in extremely bad conditions. All articles taken out of South Africa by them on their return are heavily taxed, the workers have to pay additional fees if for any reason their stay is prolonged.

West Africa

In West Africa railroads and bridges are built by forced labor. In British West Africa floggings, beatings and vagrancy are used to force the natives to work. In some sections of West Africa young boys under fourteen years of age are forced to labor. In some sections taxation is resorted to. Able-bodied men are conscripted for periods of six days at a time.

West Indies

Here we find some kind of "community" improvement resorted to: Natives at the points of bayonets of U. S. marines (Haiti) are forced to build roads without pay. Negroes in Haiti and Jamaica are conscripted for work on the sugar plantations of Cuba. They are taken to Cuba and forced to work for wages lower than the Cuban workers, and racial frictions are engendered between the imported natives and the workers of Cuba.

United States

In the southern part of the USA facts come to light daily of the existence of peonage. The Negroes are forced to work on plantations for nothing. These plantations are far back into the interior. The Negroes have no contact with the outside world. The bosses see that they are kept from any outside contact. Often cases are discovered where Negroes have been kept in bondage in this way since the Civil War. These Negroes do not know that the Civil War had abolished chattel slavery. Recently reports from workers in the south and from newspapers tell of how the southern police arrest Negroes on the least excuse and force them to work the roads of Florida without pay. They are forced to build roads for the automobiles of the rich parasites. Negro convicts arrested for "vagrancy" (and there are thousands of such cases) are leased out to mine owners and plantation owners in the south.

III.—TACTICS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The Negro toilers are subjected to capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression. We suffer as an oppressed race and as a part of the working class. In this country or that country both forms exist.

The struggle for liberation is found only through organization, organization along class lines, for class struggle. Our struggle is bound up with the struggle of the international proletariat and we must line up in the international revolutionary class struggle the world over, by organizing our forces for joint struggle. It is necessary to follow a trade union program. This program must be based on the following demands:

Equal pay for equal work.
An Eight-Hour Day.

Against forced labor.
For protective labor legislation
Protection for women and youth workers.
Freedom of trade unions.
Against class cooperation.
Against racial barriers in trade unions.
Organization of Negro workers into revolutionary trade unions.
Against white terrorism and lynchings.
Organization of defense corps.
Better housing and social conditions.
Organization of agricultural workers.
Against the confiscation of peasant and communal lands.
Against poll tax and hut tax.
For equal civil rights.
Against imperialist wars.

Liberation Movements.

The liberation movements of Negro peoples take different forms in different countries. The main thing is that they must be initiated by the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The demands of the great bulk of the population must be the center of gravity. No liberation movement of the Negroes can be helpful for the Negro masses unless the masses are the driving force. Liberation movements cannot play a decisive role in the liberation of the Negroes representing partial middle class demands of the petty-bourgeoisie and intellectuals. If the petty-bourgeoisie and the intellectuals want to serve the masses they must be the servants of the masses, and the masses must see that they are their servants.

The program of liberation movements must also offer the masses real assistance in their desperate needs and conditions. For this it is necessary to have a program.

A Program

Here we cannot outline any detailed program suitable for every country alike. Each country must work out a program on the basis of its local conditions. We can only point out a general direction.

a) The Land Question

1. Demand the return to Negroes of land formerly held by them.
2. The abolition of all taxes on land, poll and hut taxes.
3. Demand support for agriculture such as seed, implements, stock, etc.
4. Repeal of Land Acts.
5. The establishment of agricultural organizations for poor peasants and the formation of farm laborers' Unions.

b) Civil Rights

1. Freedom of speech, assembly, press etc.
2. Abolition of pass laws.
3. Evacuation of imperialist soldiers from the lands of the Negroes.
4. Abolition of peonage.
5. Abolition of jim-crow laws and segregation.
6. Universal suffrage.
7. Abolition of caste systems and racial divisions.

c) Taxation

1. The abolition of all forms of taxation that enslave and place great burden of debts upon the backs of the working population, including loans, custom regulations, in the hands of the imperialists; and the weighing down of the people with great revenue taxes.

d) Education

1. The elimination of illiteracy; the establishment free universal education.

e) Social Conditions

1. The elimination of "Ghetto" life and conditions ("Black Belts" and residential segregaton).
2. The elmination of congestion that is detriment to health.
3. Proper hospitalization for children and especially for expectant mothers—free hospitals and free dispensaries.

f) Labor Conditions

1. Establishment of labor inspection laws.
2. Abolition of child labor
3. Establishment of full trade union rights.

IV Ultimate Aims of These Tactics

These programs, the trade union and the liberation, are very closely connected with the struggle for self-determination, for native republics, for separation from imperialism and capitalism and as such are direct blows at the very heart of imperialism, at the very heart of exploitation and oppression.

Independence, Self-Rule and Self-Determination South Africa

The native population of South Africa has no political rights. The power of the state is in control of the white ruling class which has armed forces at its disposal.

The Boers were defeated by the forces of the British imperialists at the close of the last century. But now as the development of capitalism goes on in South Africa the interests of the different South African white capitalist groups as well as the British imperialist groups become more blended. All are forming together for the exploittation of the native population.

At the same time the white capitalists corrupt and bribe the Negro leaders and convert them into reformist agents against the interests of the great masses

of the working population. This unity of the white capitalist ruling class with the Negro leaders makes it necessary for the white and black proletariat and the landless native peasantry to unite for a struggle against the white capitalists and the Negro fakers.

South Africa is a black country. The majority of the population is black and so is the majority of the workers and peasants. The basis of the south African question is the black peasantry whose land has been taken away from him by the white ruling class.

In south Africa therefore we put forward and struggle for: **A native south African republic, based on the workers and peasants, with safe guards and full rights for all national minorities.**

United States

In America the main struggle as we have seen must center around the fact that the Negroes are bound down by means of political, economic and social inequalities. The Negro agricultural laborers and tenant farmers feel most the pressure of white ruling class persecution and exploitation. Thus the agrarian question lies at the root of the Negro liberation movement in America. Under the leadership of the proletariat, the Negro peasantry of America must enter into the struggle against American imperialism. In the southern part of the United States, on the "Black Belt" where Negroes constitute the majority of the population we put forward the slogan: **For the right of self-determination for the Negroes.**

Being directed at the heart of the super-profit making of American imperialism whereby the whole working class is exploited, the white workers too must support this struggle of the Negroes.

At the same time this struggle must be connected up with the fight for the complete political economic and social equality of the Negro people.

We must carry on a relentless struggle against the

fascist Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion, against mob violence and lynch law, against all forms of chauvinism, racial discrimination and segregation.

Likewise in the Negro colonies our aim must be to struggle for the complete and unconditional independence of these colonies from imperialist rule, looking forward to a unity of these colonies into a general Latin and Central American Confederation of workers and peasants.

West Africa

There must be the complete and unconditional independence of the colonies of West Africa (Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Gambia and Nigeria).

Liberia

Liberia must have her complete indenpendence and the immediate withdrawal of American imperialist agents from the territory.

Belgian Congo

The independence of the Belgian Congo and French Equitorial Africa.

Abyssinia

The unqualified independence of Abyssinia; the abrogation of all treaties that provide for the division of Abyssinia.

Haiti

Haiti must have her unconditional sovereignty and independence; all debts must be cancelled; all customs restored and the abrogation of all treaties that are directed towards the political and economic enslavement of Haiti.

Jamaica

Jamaica must have her unconditional independence and complete separation from the British Empire.

Central American Countries

For all the Central and South American Countries where there are Negroes we demand the full and complete political, economic and social equality for the Negroes.

East Africa

For all the colonies of East Africa we struggle for, and demand:

1) The evacuation of the colonies by the British.
2) The return of stolen property by whatever means taken.

V. The Struggle Against Reformism

The upper section of the working class organization in the imperialist countries tend more and more to express the interest of the imperialists and are moving hand in hand with them in the exploitation and oppression of the Negro peoples. These include the chauvinist trade union organizations such as the Amsterdam International, the American Federation of Labor and its tool in Latin America, the Pan-American Federation of Labor. These include also the Second International and all of its affiliated socialist parties.

Included under this heading are certain Negro organizations and individuals, all of whom are against the interests of the Negro toilers. These we must make a brilliant struggle against.

The Second International

The Second International is chauvinistic to the very core. Its attitude towards Negroes and oppressed peoples is an attitude of 'superiors' towards 'inferiors.' According to them Negroes are made by god to be inhumanly exploited at the hands of some so-called "civilizing" government.

In every country where the socialists are in power

they profit from the exploitation of the Negroes. Belgian socialists are managers and directors of concerns in East Africa and the Congo.

The Second International is not an international, it is essentially a European movement. The oppressed people must be prepared to take arms and struggle against them as against the imperialists.

British Labor Party

The British Labor Party expresses clearly the role of the Second International. To say nothing of India whom she suppresses in the most ruthless manner, her policy towards the Negro colonies of the British Empire is the same policy as the conservative Government. The colonial movement Bill passed last July for "development in Africa" is aimed at the extreme exploitation of the African colonies. MacDonald is trying to pass the burden of the crisis of British imperialism on to the backs of the African masses.

American Federation of Labor and the American Socialist Party

Both these organizations have a jim-crow policy towards the Negro workers. They are both committed to a policy of supporting American imperialism, which in turn means the exploitation of the Negro masses. The Amsterdam International, the trade union International of the reformist organizations, supports forced labor in Africa. It supports the imperialist policies in the colonies.

We Negro toilers can have nothing to do with such organizations. We must have nothing to do with such "socialism," with such labor "unity," with such organizations, that at one moment declare hypocritically for "equal rights and priviledges regardless to race" and which in actual practice jim-crow, segregate and bar Negro workers.

The struggle against imperialism is too serious and

too tremendous a task for us to go in the same direction with social-reformism. We must find another path, and if this road leads to open struggle (which it must) with social reformism, we accept open struggle.

Reformism in India

Let us refer to one type of reformism in India. Earnest Kirk, editor of the Labor Review of India, in the May 1929 issue of that journal referred to a speech which this writer made at the January meeting of the Executive Committee of the League Against Imperialism as follows:

"According to the "Negro Worker"....Mr. Ford, speaking at the Enlarged Executive of the League Against Imperialism said, "The League must support all struggles for national independence and for workers' and peasants' control....It must fight against reformism in all its forms. It must be for militant struggle against imperialism." And in his prefatory remarks: "The League is now faced with the task of becoming a real militant organization which would undertake the practical work of mobilizing all anti-imperialist forces. The League must become a real mass organization....the League should direct its chief attention to the mass of workers and peasants particularly the trade unions, and concluded with the significant words: "The Convocation of the Second World Congress of the League....is to strenghthen the League organizationally and to draw **up a militant revolutionary program of its activities.**" (Kirk's emphasis).

Mr Kirk then comes to the following illuminating conclusion: "And to think that the All-India Trade Union Congress is affiliated to the League."

What are the conclusions? Mr. Kirk, the reformist is afraid of the **practical** work of organizing the Indian

workers and peasants for revolutionary struggle against British imperialism, the Indian masses who are in degradation and poverty; of the 330,000,000 seventy per cent are always between starvation and death. He said further on in his journal: "We agree there is room for improvement"—But the road to it is not revolutionary struggle.

It is just this type of reformism that is responsible for the decline of the Indian movement during 1922. Reformists are frightened by the mass movement of the workers in Bombay and other parts of India and they are fast going over to the side of British Imperialism.

It is just for these reasons (which recent events have proved) that this writer declared at the Enlarged Executive meeting of the League, that the League must part with such creatures, that the League must become a militant organization based on the workers and peasants if it means to struggle in reality against imperialism.

Let us now pass to certain forms of Negro reformism.

Negro Reformism and Reaction

There are four principal Negro organizations in America that say they fight in the interest of the Negro masses. They are, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Urban League, The Pan-African Congress and the Garvey movement.

Urban League

The Urban League cooperates with the United States Department of Labor, the United States Chamber of Commerce and with managers of Industrial and manufacturing concerns, employing large numbers of Negroes. They say that the American capitalists are friends of the Negroes. They do not concern themselves with the working conditions, wages, hours, etc.,

of the Negro workers, but on the contrary, say that the Negro workers should accept the conditions which "their friends" impose upon them. They actively support strike breaking policies.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

This organization also has the support of white capitalists, like Julius Rosenwarld the multi-millionaire of Chicago, John Rockefeller Jr., the oil king; the ammunition magnate, Dupont of New Jersey, and others. This is a happy combination. Certainly such an organization will not struggle against American imperialism, and cannot represent the interests of the toiling masses. It is quite natural that it will take a reformist character. Its leadership has given up the struggle for full social, political and economic equality of the Negro toilers. It even tries to play with the fight against lynching through reformist methods. It is a petty-bourgeois organization that is now beginning to represent the interests of the rising Negro bourgeoisie.

The Pan-African Congress

The Pan-African Congress is another organization, international in scope, which from all signs is a reformist organization and represents, not the interests of the great masses of Negro toilers, but is an organization that would seek reforms under imperialism, and would join hands with imperialism on the basis of the exploitation of the Negro toilers. Its demands are nothing but demands to keep Negro toilers under the heel of imperialism, provided a few Negroes are sent to the parliaments of the imperialists.

The Garvey Movement

The Garvey movement, while dwindling in numbers and influence, has still some pull among the Negro

masses. But the Garvey leaders carried forward reactionary demands, and economic programs that isolated the movement from the international struggle against imperialism. It fought against the trade union movement of Negro workers. It advocated racial nationalist capitalist ideas which in the long run means nothing more nor less than the rule and exploitation of the Negro masses by black capitalists. Its most reactionary program was "Back to Africa" which means giving up the struggle in America and the places where the Negroes are now living, to organize a "black capitalist republic," in Africa. Its capitulation before the Ku Klux Klan all show the reactionary character of the leadership and the reformist tendencies of this leadership.

THE WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS' UNION OF LONDON. Our good friends here also have some hazy ideas about the liberation of Africa. The Secretary of the Union in one pamphlet advocates that "our good white friends" (capitalists) of Germany, England, America and France can help the Africans by lending their money for the upbuilding of West Africa. Does he think that this is a struggle against imperialism; has he not had enough of British imperialism in West Africa; is he so naive as to think that capitalists from these countries have any other design but the subjugation of the African people, or does he think that these shrew capitalists are simple fools?

NEGRO TRADE UNION REFORMISM. For what is called Negro trade union reformism, the leadership of A. Philip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters of the USA, and the leadership of Kadalie of South Africa are typical. Randolph does not lead the workers of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters into struggle for bettering their conditions and for building their organizations, but relies upon pleas, and "legalistic" methods. His most reactionary policy has

been the betrayal of the organization into the hands of the American Federation of Labor. He does not fight for lowering color bars in the white railway brotherhoods. He accepts jim-crow policies throughout. The strike call demanded by at least ninety per cent of the workers was betrayed by Randolph. He turned the militancy of the workers into reformist channels, pretending that an enlightenment campaign was necessary; on this matter he took the advice of President Green of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Kadalie of South Africa, after building up the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa, soon led this organization into reformist channels. In 1927 this organization was affiliated to the Amsterdam International by Kadalie. This was certainly against the interests of the South African workers, because the Amsterdam International is a chauvinistic organization that supports forced labor in all parts of Africa, and that in general supports the imperialist oppression of the African natives.

The conditions of the native workers in South Africa were constantly becoming worse. They demanded a militant program of struggle. This was not forthcoming from Kadalie. Kadalie split the organization into several parts. His section became an out and out reformist section. Today Kadalie has no influence in the South African movement. There are, in South Africa, certain white reformists from England, who are trying to take up where Kadalie left off, trying to use the influence of Kadalie for this purpose.

The Negro toilers must take up struggles against reformism in all its forms. They can however, maintain connections with individual petty-bourgeois organizations of Negroes who might bring a certain advantage to the struggle against imperialism, but these organizations and these elements must be servants of the Negro masses.

VI.—THE NEGRO AND THE WAR DANGER

Approximately 70,000,000 workers and peasants of all races, nationalities and countries, deluded by the lying press and propaganda of the imperialists and betrayed by the reformists, social-democrats and pacifists, were dragged into the imperialist war of 1914-18; over ten millions were killed and 29 millions returned home crippled and diseased in body and mind. What for? **For imperialist blunder, rapine and pillage!**

1. Negroes and the Late War

Particularly significant is the number of Negro toilers drawn from factories and farms who participated in this war. In America alone 2,000,000 Negroes were registered for military service; 200,000 saw active service on the battlefields of France either as combatant troops or labor stevedores, and thousands of them were killed or maimed. Regardless of these sacrifices brought by the Negro workers to the altar of imperialism, the American imperialists continued to carry on racial prejudices even against the Negro troops in France, to say nothing of their practices of lynchings and segregation at home. Thirteen Negro soldiers of the American Army were hanged and 26 were sentenced to prison for long periods for protesting and organizing a revolt against the abuses of mobs on the persons of Negro women in the southern part of the U.S.A. "Legalized lynchings" were carried out in France, and the beastly sport of taking moving pictures of these hangings, to be shown in the United States, were conducted by the imperialist agents.

At the close of the war lynchings of Negroes in USA immediately increased. Negro soldiers were lynched in the South for wearing the uniform of the US Army. Fearful of the growing unrest amongst the workers in general, growing out of the awakening class-consciousness of the working class as a result

of experiences of the war, race riots between black and white workers, causing the loss of many lives, partly to offset the growing class-consciousness and militancy of the workers against the imperialists, were instigated in several of the large industrial centers of America by imperialist agents. In these riots the militia forces were used against Negroes. These are only preludes to the pogroms that will be resorted to against the proletariat and the toiling Negroes whenever in an extreme crisis, the workers threaten the American bourgeoisie.

Negroes of the French colonies supplied six regiments of tens of thousands of troops for France's army. Over 30,000 lost their lives in the horrible slaughter. These black troops were France's "shock troops"; they walked into the mouth of death unflinchingly. Many thousands dies from cold, being unaccustomed to the Northern European winters.

Following the war, native troops who fought and died on "equal terms" with white troops were allowed only one-half of the meagre pension granted white troops. The yoke of enslavement, as is well known, has been tightened around the necks of the natives of the French colonies since the war. French imperialist colonial policy is decimating the population of Equatorial Africa.

Already the construction of the first 140 kilometres of the Ocean-Congo Railway (which is being constructed in haste to transport native troops for the next war) has cost the lives of 17,000 natives. One thousand Negroes have been shot by the Societe Forestiere (Forest Company). In one section the population has been reduced from 1,150,000 to 300,000. In other sections, because of intense exploitation, between 4,000 and 5,000 deaths have occurred for every 200,000 inhabitants.

Goaded to death by these intolerable conditions the

natives rose in revolt in November, 1928. This revolt was crushed in the blood of the natives. All of this and more has occurred in the French colonies since the last imperialist war in which the native troops served as cannon fodder for French imperialism. Thus, French imperialist colonial policy is exposed to the Negro peoples of the world who have viewed France as free, liberty loving, and "democratic" Remove this fake cloak of bourgeois justice and liberty, and you see blood-thirsty, cruel imperialist France stand forth.

The British Empire has been built on the blood of colonial troops. The natives of Africa bled their share in the imperialist war of 1914-18. English imperialism has been very subtle in using Negro and colonial troops to "pull her chestnuts out of the fire" and to police the world for her.

Negro troops fought with Allenby in the Egyptian campaign and in Palestine. Her activities are well-known in the use of African workers for her imperialist war as well as the use of black troops in her counter-revolutionary efforts against the Red Army and the Soviet Union. For all this, British imperialism is at present systematically, carefully and cruelly pushing forward her program of exploitation and oppression of Negroes from the West Indies to South Africa.

2. Preparing Negroes for the Next War

Notwithstanding all this, all these imperialist nations are pushing on their campaigns to prepare their "black armies" for the next war; already imperialist agents are spreading "scientific" propaganda to the effect that Negro troops are 80 per cent more immuned from poisonous gas than white troops, and therefore France must counteract the highly developed chemical industry of Germany by creating a huge black army.

Already America is training Negroes in her military camps.

Young Negroes, deluded by the propaganda of petty bourgeois Negro politicians, are being sent to the military academies of the U. S. as prospective officers to lead Negro troops in the interest of U. S. imperialism.

France's black army is world renowned. England on the eve of battle will conscript her black army.

Fearful of class-conscious proletarians in their armies and because of the dearth of white peasants to conscript, the imperialists (believing the Negroes backward, docile and less liable to the influence of revolutionary propaganda than white troops) intend to use large numbers of Negro troops in their armies as cannon fodder and in case revolution breaks out amongst white troops at the front and white workers at the rear, to use Negro troops to crush the revolutionary movement.

Even now black troops are being used to suppress the struggles of workers (in France). England plans to send black troops into China to suppress the Chinese revolution. America continually uses black troops in Mexico.

And finally, they are planning to lead hordes of black troops to throw against the U.S.S.R. to attempt to crush the homeland, the fatherland of the proletariat and of the oppressed peoples.

Negroes Must Struggle Against the Next War

Negro working men and women, join the struggle against imperialist war!

Negro working men and women, join the strike struggles of the workers!

Negro working men and women in the colonies, organize against imperialist war!

Negro troops, fraternize with the workers; do not go against the workers!

Young Negro soldiers in the barracks and Reserve Officers' Training Corps and in the army, demonstrate against war!

Negro soldiers, organize!

Gain contact with Negro workers in the factories!

Expose petty-bourgeois Negro politicians who send Negroes into the army academies of the imperialists!

Negro soldiers, refuse to police the world for the imperialists!

Negro constabularies, refuse to go against your brothers for the imperialists!

Negro ex-service men, organize and demonstrate against imperialist wars!

Negro workers and peasants, struggle against the propaganda of the Negro press, church and Y.M.C.A., which are creating pacifist illusions amongst the toilers.

Negro workers, peasants and soldiers, turn the imperialist war into a civil war against your oppressors!

Fight to defeat "your" imperialist country in the war!

Negro soldiers, in the event of war, fraternize with the soldiers of the opposing armies!

Down with race war, long live the class war!

Negro workers, peasants and soldiers, defend the Soviet Union against imperialism!

Only hand in hand with the international revolutionary proletariat in its fight against imperialism and capitalism can the Negro worker and peasant attain their freedom from political, economic and racial oppression.

VII.—TASKS OF THE LEAGUE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

After the first period we now enter the second period of the League. Concrete organizational steps

must be taken and support given to Negro organizations, particularly trade union organizations. Only by unifying and bringing the great mass of toiling workers and peasants into the struggle can we hope for success against imperialism. It is for this reason that support to the young Negro trade unions is so important. In the meantime we must support and gain contact with the liberation movements of the Negro people and guide and give them assistance in their struggle against imperialism.

At the same time the League must struggle against reformism whether it be national reformism or the reformism of the International Labor Movements. The struggle is becoming so sharp that we must determinedly part with all reformists and all those who will not struggle against imperialism. All adherents and members of League Against Imperialism must support the program for Negro liberation outlined above. We must cease to accept lip service and phrases; we must have action and active supporters against imperialism. This is the task of the League regarding the Negro toilers in this new period of the League.

International Character of Struggle Against Imperialism

The Negro toilers are learning that their struggle for liberation and freedom has an international aspect and that it is bound up with the struggle of the workers and oppressed peoples of all lands. We have already pointed out how imperialism is penetrating Africa and bringing Negroes more and more within the clutches of their exploitation. We have pointed out the large investments that are being made in Africa—which are increasing as investments are threatened and weakened in India and China. The exploitation of the Negroes becomes one of the main links of imperialism.

But the Negroes' struggle for freedom cannot be fought upon the basis of race or nationalism solely. This also is true of the working class in the various countries and demands the strictest understanding and attention of both. The struggle is international, involving the unity of the Negro peoples with the exploited and oppressed of all countries.

The Negro people must begin to break down all policies and tendencies that isolate them and isolate the workers and oppressed peoples of other countries from their struggles. This is of great significance since "race war" slogans and racial issues are being raised to obscure the real struggle against imperialism.

R. Palm Dutt, in his book, "Modern India," points this out very clearly by the following statement:

"European bourgeois writers have begun to speak, with their usual foolishness, of the Revolt of Asia and Africa and supposed menaces to 'white civilization.' This is, of course, nonsense, equally as much as the attacks these same writers make on the rise of the working class in their own countries. In either case, what is taking place is no mysterious menace or conspiracy, but a very simple process of millions of human beings endeavoring to free themselves from the existing subjection (a subjection that these same bourgeois writers would protest against very vociferously, if placed under it themselves).

"The 'white civilization' of which these writers speak does not mean the existence and livelihood of the millions of workers and peasants in Europe, who have their own problems to face, but means simply a certain system of subjection and exploitation established by force in Asia and Africa, and established also over the workers and peasants of capitalist Europe."

Besides, the American press is writing about the "Red Peril," characterizing the Soviet Union as an

enemy of the "white" races and as leading the brown, black and yellow peoples into struggle against white supremacy and "white civilization." But what these imperialists really fear is the **class war.** Down with **"race war."**

We must join the class war in which the liberation of the Negro people will go hand in hand with the world movement of the working class and oppressed people against imperialism and capitalism.

At the same time the international working class must come to the full realization that its struggle is intimately bound up with the liberation movements of the Negro people—that they cannot successfully struggle against imperialism when imperialism is extending exploitation amongst the Negro peoples. We have already pointed out how certain sections of the working class follow a policy of chauvinism, and even cooperate with the imperialists in the exploitation of Negroes. We have seen what the Labor Party of England, in 1924, did regarding the colonies. We have already seen the passing of the recent colonial development bill for Africa by the Labor Party, which has as its aim the extending of imperialist exploitation primarily amongst the colonies of Africa.

But we are mindful that the British Labor Party and all the bureaucratic organizations of the Amesterdam International, A. F. of L., etc., do not represent the interests of the toiling workers in the homelands; that they are betraying the toiling worker. The workers of the homelands of imperialism must awaken to to the situation, must chase out these bureaucrats, must bring themselves into the organized struggle against imperialism; must ally themselves with the toiling and oppressed peoples of the colonies.

The Negro toilers are beginning more and more to enter the international struggle, into the labor move-

ment which has a revolutionary program against imperialism. We will join in international unity.

Finally, the Negro toiling masses must realize that their struggle against chauvinism, against all discrimination, whether carried on by the imperialists or by the social reformists, or by backward elements in the revolutionary movement, can only be overcome by their bringing their organized force into the struggle.

We must have power that is represented by organization. The sooner we have power, the sooner we will be respected in all quarters. We must realize that our cry for equality, etc., will only be heard when we are organized. I beg my people in all lands and climes to organize their forces for a unified and combined struggle for liberation, for the overthrow of imperialism.

END OF
TITLE